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BRIEF NOTICES

HANS BENNIS & W. U. S. VAN LESSEN KLOEKE (eds.), *Linguistics in the Netherlands 1983*. (Publications in Language Sciences 12.) Dordrecht, Holland and Cinnaminson, N.J.: Foris, 1983. Pp. 199.

These twenty papers are a selection from among forty-eight presented at the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the "Algemene Vereniging voor Taalvetenschap," Amsterdam, January 22, 1983. One of the authors represented is from England, and three are from Belgium. These papers are not sociolinguistic, but show a wide range of active concern in phonetics, phonology, varieties of syntax, semantics, functional grammar, and typology. (DH)

LEONARD BLOOMFIELD, *An introduction to the study of language*. New edition with introduction by Joseph F. Kess. (Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science, Series II, Classics in Psycholinguistics, vol. 3.) Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1983. Pp. xlviii + 335.

This edition of Bloomfield's general text of 1914 is an important event. Our working sense of the history of linguistics has suffered from its unavailability. (I still recall my chagrin when the psycholinguist Volney Stefflre beat me to a used copy discovered in a bookshop in Cambridge twenty-five years ago.) Here, first of all, is Bloomfield the "mentalist," writing in the context of Wundt. Here moreover, is Bloomfield the descriptivist, beginning the study of language with sound systems, morphology, and syntax, both in his own chapters, and in the advice given to the student of language (313ff.). This book, written apparently in 1913, together with Sapir's Takelma grammar, completed as a dissertation under Boas in 1909, demonstrates the error of the intellectual folk-conception of synchronic linguistics as beginning exclusively with de Saussure's *Cours* of 1916.

For a sense of the continuity of linguistic science from the nineteenth century [Bloomfield cites Whitney's books as still "fundamental works of our science" (315)]; for an early view of the relation of linguistics to other disciplines, including ethnology and philology, defined as the study of national values; for a lucid manifestation of "structuralism" unconnected with "behaviorism" (cf. the tacit principle of phonemic contrast on p. 54); this is a book to be widely read. No other book today perhaps can rival its value to linguists. It is a lucid, readable stimulus to the self-awareness about our discipline we ought all to have. Sapir's marvelous 1921 text, *Language*, has become familiar, almost too familiar. Bloomfield's neglected 1914 text is the best bucket of cold water in which to clear one's eyes. (DH)

MICHAEL CLYNE, *Multilingual Australia*. Melbourne: River Seine Publications, 1982. Pp. x + 178.

In his monograph, *Multilingual Australia*, Michael Clyne takes his cue from Joshua Fishman, beginning with a macroanalysis of census data on the relatively unexplored language situation in Australia. Community languages other than English (CLOTEs) fall into two groups, aboriginal and immigrant languages. Clyne concentrates on the latter. The extent and diversity of multilingualism in Australia is astonishing to those unfamiliar with the continent. Over 12 percent of the population reports regular use of CLOTEs, Greek and Italian accounting for the largest proportion in the 1976 census. (Since that time, there have been large increases in the Serbian, Croatian, Russian, Chinese, Arabic, and Vietnamese populations.)

Clyne provides extensive data from the 1976 census, broken down by language and geographic distribution. In interpreting the data, he adopts Haugen's concept of language ecology, analyzing language maintenance and language shift ("The ecology of language," *Linguistic Reporter*, Supplement 25, 1971). There are clear differences among the language groups, both in the first and second generations, in the degree of language shift. In the second generation, however, it is generally swift and sharp. Clyne associates the degree of shift with the educational level of the immigrants, numerical strength of the community, and the cultural and linguistic similarity of the host and immigrant

groups, as well as attitudes of the host majority and the sociocultural characteristics of the incoming population.Clyne goes on to explore the various domains and institutions which are instrumental in language maintenance and shift. Until recently, the educational system was a powerful force in mother-tongue replacement. Before the 1970s, all attempts to use CLOTEs in the schools were transitional in nature. In employment and transactional domains, the author includes several situations not normally considered in domain analyses, such as multinational companies, private business, and industries. A number of the immigrants to Australia are well educated and highly skilled, in contrast to the traditional view of immigrant language situations.

In perhaps the most interesting chapter of the monograph, Clyne leaves behind the census data, and examines the structural consequences of language contact. There is abundant evidence in the speech of CLOTE users of a hierarchy of transfer (from English in the first language) from the phonological and prosodic levels to the pragmatic and discourse levels. He briefly reviews incidences of code switching and offers sociolinguistic and pragmatic factors which may be influential in both of these language contact phenomena. Also included is a summary of Clyne's own work on foreigner talk and "industrial pidgins."

Clyne concludes the monograph by outlining the history of language policy in Australia. Traditionally, it has been largely assimilationist. Awareness of the needs of a multilingual, multicultural population came only in the 1970s. At that time, demands began to be made by immigrant populations, particularly in education. A 1976 report to Parliament made numerous recommendations in this area. Although these have not been uniformly or rigorously implemented, they represent a first step in accommodating the limited English proficiency students and in preserving their culture. The author offers his own arguments for the teaching of CLOTEs in the schools.

As Clyne himself admits, *Multilingual Australia* is "tentative rather than definitive in character." Census data can provide direction, but are indeed only a starting point. Further investigation into the Australian language situation should be a valuable addition to the literature on language contact, maintenance, and shift.

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JENNIFER COATES, *The semantics of the modal auxiliaries*. London and Canberra: Croom Helm, 1983. Pp. vi + 259.

English modal verbs have received considerable attention over the past two decades; the spectrum of approaches has been broad. Studies have ranged from a consideration of the speech acts of modal verbs (Boyd & Thorne 1969) to representations within formal syntactic/semantic models (Gazdar, Pullum, & Sag 1982). *The semantics of the modal auxiliaries* is a corpus-based, quantitative analysis. It concentrates on use and meaning, rather than on syntactic role within some formal model of the auxiliary system. Coates does utilize a formal model, but one applied to the *semantic* properties of these forms; its chief function is to model the indeterminate and gradient aspects of these properties.

Two corpora are used, the Lancaster–Oslo/Bergen corpus (LOB) (see Johansson 1978) and the Survey of English Usage based at University College London (directed by Randolph Quirk). Both represent British usage; the former contains 1,000,000 words divided into fifteen genres of writing; the latter 750,000 words, including spoken and unpublished written materials. (Coates actually uses 545,000 divided among 109 texts from the later corpus; the texts are divided into five genres.)

The volume is roughly divided into two sections. Chapters 1–3 define the theoretical and methodological framework; chapters 4–9 discuss the empirical results in detail. The volume's greatest virtue lies in the wealth of examples covered and the quantitatively based patterns which emerge.

Although previous corpus-based studies on the modal verbs do exist, they have either been restricted in size and representation (Ehrman 1966) or have used the corpus solely for illustrative purposes (Palmer 1979). Coates has done an admirable job of sorting complex and subtle natural data into a coherent, readable analysis. The consistency of organization throughout makes crossreferencing easy, and the volume will provide good source materials for others working on any facet of the modal verbs.

A traditional issue has been how to characterize the distinction between *epistemic* and *root* meaning. Traditionally, epistemic meaning is associated with the concepts of *possibility* and *probability;* root meaning is associated with *inherent ability* or *permission*. Coates uses *fuzzy set* theory (Zadeh 1965) to characterize the variation and "fuzziness" of the data as regards epistemic and root type meanings. In a standard type of set, elements either are or are not members of that set. In contrast, a fuzzy set contains elements which are more or less in that set. This gradience of membership can be given a numeric value. For example, a weak member could be assigned 0.2 (values ranging from 0–1) and a strong member a value of 0.8. This model differs from gradience models which define polar opposites separated by a cline (see Quirk 1965). In such models, each pole represents a distinct category defined by a set of properties. At either pole belong examples possessing all properties of that category; along the cline are examples which exhibit mixed traits in various combinations from both categories.

Coates argues that the semantic properties of the modal verbs are not captured well by such models but are best characterized in terms of core meanings, frequently associated with co-occurring syntactic and prosodic features. The contrast to such a core is not a polar opposite but a cluster of examples which simply do not possess all of the core properties. If such examples possess some of the core traits, they are in the *skirt* of the fuzzy set; if they possess no traits of the core, they are on the *periphery*. The advantage is that series of overlapping fuzzy sets may be linked together at their peripheries. Coates argues such a relation is more useful in expressing the relation of modal meanings to each other, rather than conceiving of, for instance, root and epistemic as somehow "opposites." One illustration of the core-to-skirt relation is provided by CAN.

1. I can only type very slowly as I am quite a beginner. (14)

Example 1 expresses the root meaning of *ability* rather than the epistemic meaning of *possibility*. Three traits are strongly associated with root meaning: (i) the subject is animate and agentive, (ii) the main verb denotes a physical activity, (iii) the possibility of the action depends on inherent traits of the subject. In contrast to Example 1, Example 2 does not possess the trait of inherency (iii) as clearly as does Example 1. Thus, it is less close to the core of the fuzzy set of root meaning than Example 1, and lies within the skirt. (I would add that the event expressed in Example 2 is also more abstract; it is less clearly a single physical process.)

2. All we can do is rake up somebody like Piers Plowman who was a literary oddity. (15)

Coates states that the absence of inherency (iii) in Example 2 gives the interpretation a sense of *possibility* rather than *ability*, but possibility is not defined at the core of another set in this case, only by a diminished proximity to the core of the root set.

In the case of modal WILL, there are four interpretations (with three fuzzy sets): epistemic prediction, epistemic predictability, root willingness, and root intention. Examples 3–6 illustrate these (170).

3. I think the bulk of this year's students will go into industry. (prediction)
4. Your Lordship will know what her age was. (predictability)
5. I mean I don't think the bibliography should suffer because we can't find a publisher who will do the whole thing. (willingness)
6. I'll put them in the post today. (intention)

The closeness of Examples 3 and 4 is represented in Coates's model with the former on the periphery of the latter. Examples 5 and 6 occur at separate cores, even though both involve volition. Example 5 is said to focus on the subject's state of mind, whereas Example 6 focuses on some future event. The fuzzy set representation of these basic interpretations shows overlap (e.g., root *willingness* overlaps with epistemic *prediction*, which in turn is on the skirt/periphery of epistemic *predictability*). Such a representation is said to depict the many cases of *merger* found with modal WILL. A merger occurs when two interpretations of a modal are possible in a given context. The interpretations are not mutually exclusive, as with ambiguity, but rather both are possible simultaneously. Merger is illustrated in Example 7.

7. Rutherford suggested to Marsden that he should follow this up.

In Example 7, there are both the readings of *weak* obligation and *quasisubjunction*, each of which can occur independently in other contexts (see p. 17). The quasisubjunctive reading is a British usage, not an American one.

There is a certain degree of indeterminateness (and no doubt some disparity in judgments) in assigning examples to the cores and their peripheries. Yet having made these semantic cores partly on the basis of intuitions about the meanings of root and epistemic modality, Coates goes on to illustrate the correlations found in the corpora between the various modal meanings and certain syntactic and prosodic features. Space does not permit a detailed account of all the findings, so I will briefly summarize some of the most important.

a. For epistemic meaning, negation affects the *main* predication; for root meaning, negation affects the *modal* predication.

b. For epistemic meaning, past-tense marking affects the main predication; for root meaning, past-tense marking affects the modal predication.

c. Epistemic meanings do not occur in the interrogative mood except in the cases of marginally epistemic WILL, SHALL, WOULD.

d. Epistemic modals generally receive stress, usually fall–rise. The exceptions are WILL, SHALL, WOULD.

e. Epistemic meaning is typically associated with the following syntactic features: have + en, past tense, progressive aspect, existential subject, stative verbs.

f. In general, epistemic meaning is less fuzzy than root meaning, that is, epistemic examples cluster largely around the core, whereas root examples are strewn across the core and skirt of fuzzy sets.

Since the data in this study consist almost entirely of educated and middle-class examples, it would be useful to compare the distributions found in this study with those of British working-class dialects, as well as American speech. It would also be interesting to know how epistemic and root meanings are distributed in verb phrase ellipsis involving the various modals as well as tag questions. These forms were not addressed in this study, perhaps revealing certain limitations in the data.

Coates states that the concept of *core* may have some psychological reality in that core meanings of roots and epistemics (as defined in this study) are what children learn first (see Wells 1979; Perkins 1981). Core meanings are what the person in the street will most readily offer when asked for the meaning of a given modal verb. Interestingly though, core meanings are far less frequent in the two corpora than skirt and peripheral meanings.

There may be important implications for language change. Coates does not focus on the question, but it is tempting to speculate whether evidence can be found which points to directions of change. For example, do peripherals grow until the cores of separate sets merge? Is this happening to root and epistemic WILL? Can new cores emerge from existing peripherals? The utility of fuzzy sets as a model and heuristic for the study of semantic use and change remains an open question. This study has not demonstrated exactly what role such a formalism is to play.

Each chapter contains a brief section on stylistic variation, taking into account the different genres within the corpus. The diversity of patterns manifested here should serve as a reminder of the potential distortion inherent in generalizations based on corpora which *don't* represent a range of channels, styles, and contexts available to a given speech community. For example, in some genres (writing, writing intended to be spoken, formal speaking), root MUST predominates over epistemic MUST; the opposite is true in informal speech (48). With respect to modal CAN, epistemic possibility increasingly occurs with more formal and written styles; root ability occurs most frequently with informal speech. The root meaning of *permission* is rare relative to both of the above (123). Concerning the forms themselves, WOULD is by far the most commonly occurring in the written samples, whereas WILL and CAN are the two most commonly occurring forms in speech (24). Interestingly, these forms are also said to be the first ones learned by children (Wells 1979). Despite this important first step of taking genres into account, the volume does not interpret these results through a well-articulated social theory. Yet given the wealth of grammatical results presented in this volume, this one shortcoming is mentioned only to emphasize the need in general for further explorations in the social facets of this topic.

In conclusion, this volume is highly recommended for those pursuing any facet of research related to the English modals, and for anyone generally interested in the study of syntax and semantics in a quantitative paradigm.

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COMMUNICATION AND SIMULATION: CALL FOR PAPERS. Contributions are being invited for an edited volume to be entitled *Communication and simulation*. The volume is being planned for publication in late 1985, early 1986. Its scope is to be as large and as interdisciplinary as possible, ranging from *intragroup behaviour* (e.g., counselling, social networks, language, role rehearsal) through *intergroup relations* (e.g., discrimination, language, international relations, minorities), *organisations* (e.g., management, legislation, judicial processes, decision making, planning) to *mass media and technology* (e.g., advertising, the press, computers, man–machine interfaces).

It is planned to publish the volume in advance of the 17th international conference of the International Simulation and Gaming Association, to be held at the University of Toulon in June 1986, on the general theme of communication. The conference will consist essentially of practical demonstrations and debates, rather than theoretical papers; and accounts of these demonstrations and debates will be collected in the proceedings to be printed at the University after the conference. There are at present no further details available about the conference; announcements will be appearing in the specialized press nearer the time.

Potential contributors to the edited volume should write either to David Crookall, University of Toulon, 83130 La Garde, France; or to Danny Saunders, The Polytechnic of Wales, Pontypridd, Mid-Glamorgan CF37 1DL, Wales.

JAMES M. CRAWFORD, *Cocopa Texts* (University of California Publications, Linguistics, 100.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. Pp. xi + 604.

It is good to see this volume of texts and to know that it is the first of three volumes, a dictionary appearing soon and a grammar to follow shortly afterwards.

Cocopa is a Yuman language, originally spoken on the delta and lower Colorado river and its delta. Most American survivors now live on or near a reservation at Somerton. Those who remained in Mexico live in the vicinity of San Luis, Sonora, and scattered west of the Colorado in Baja California. Some Cocopa now live west of Phoenix.

Crawford's presentation of these texts goes some distance toward meeting, implicitly, Dennis Tedlock's call for the full event in which text occurs and for dialogue. Hesitations are preserved (cf. 121); the joint collaboration of speakers is shown (cf. 143); preparatory, metanarrative comments are given (cf. 151).

With regard to the patterns of repetition and parallelism discovered in a number of American Indian languages recently, it appears that Cocopa would show groupings of lines in terms of pairs, perhaps in sets of three pairs. Such at least is the impression given by the beginning lines of "Coyote and his daughter" (134), which I sketch as follows:

A coyote was there.
  A coyote was there now.
Somehow he managed to have a daughter there
  and she was very pretty.
That young lady was very pretty now.
  She had just become a young lady there.

Coyote went around looking at her.
  Golly, my daughter is very pretty.
    "I would like somehow to fuck her,"
      he said thinking.
"It will not happen that I can in any way fuck her,"
      he thought.

He looked at her
  and craved her very much
    as he went around there,
      but now he could not in any way do it.
The girl would not say all right
  and refused.

Now he kept on looking at her there
  and when he slept at night now,
the girl lay somewhere by the door of the house
  and slept too.
She lay there
  and slept.

And, skipping to the end of the story:

The girl got up
  and was around trying to fight him
    and cry (out) now
      and got away,
        took off,
          and went along.

Now Coyote now went back,
  got there,
    and was there.
      He was there now.
        He had no choice now.
          He would probably be there alone.

(DH)

GERRIT JAN DIMMENDAAL, *The Turkana language*. (Publications in African Languages and Linguistics 2.) Dordrecht, Holland and Cinnaminson, N.J.: Foris, 1983. Pp. xvii + 496.

This work describes a Nilotic language of northwestern Kenya. The aim is to provide a reference grammar, giving a general overview of the language, for the purposes of comparative Nilotic studies. Matters of gender, case, number, verb morphology, and word order are given detailed treatment, because they are particularly complicated and pose special problems for Nilotic studies. Some aspects of the language, such as nonvoiced vowels, vowel harmony, prominence hierarchies, and the number-marking system are thought to be of general linguistic interest. In addition, the grammar includes attention to such topics as color terminology, ox-naming, tree names, proverbs, and onomastics. Dimmendaal began this study out of sheer interest in the traditional culture, but the topics proved to be linguistically significant because of idiosyncracies of form and meaning. He suggests that they may serve ultimately as instances of the "ethnography of speaking." (DH)

JOHN HOLM, (ed.), *Central American English*. (Varieties of English Around the World, Text Series, 2.) Heidelberg: Julius Groos Verlag, 1983. Pp. 184.

This volume is the second in the "Text Series" of Varieties of English Around the World. It is recommended especially to students of Caribbean creoles, as it contains transcriptions of taped conversations from six little-known English-based creoles from the western Caribbean and the Atlantic coast of Central America. The volume also provides texts from varieties of Central American English (CAE) not considered to be creoles. Texts are gathered from five subregions within the western Caribbean, including Belize (formerly British Honduras), Honduras Bay, the Miskito Coast of Nicaragua, the Caribbean coasts of Costa Rica and Panama, and the "offshore islands," located farther off the Central American coast. Each chapter contains several texts recently recorded by Holm and the other contributors to the volume. Most of the texts are accompanied by interlinear translations, and all of them are heavily footnoted with information on grammar, phonology, and sociolinguistic factors.

Holm introduces the volume with a historical outline of the peopling of English-speaking Central America by successive waves of European traders and pirates, several groups of Afro-Indians, Puritan colonists, slaves and laborers from the British West Indies, and North Americans. He shows some evidence of the influence of other languages on varieties of CAE, including West African languages, Spanish, and Amerindian languages. He gives a fairly prominent place to his views on creolization, which he sees as a major influence on most of the varieties under study. According to Holm, creolized English in this area is the result of the nativization of a simplified contact language used between Africans of various language backgrounds and English speakers (15). Holm claims that during the process of creolization, languages such as Yoruba and Twi provided a replacement for grammatical structures lost during simplification. He also attributes some of the peculiarities of CAE to regionalisms originating in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Particular attention is also paid to the current relationship between English and Spanish in the area, since most varieties of CAE are spoken in officially Spanish-speaking countries.

The book is organized by geographical area, and chapters are introduced with comments on the sociolinguistic history of each subregion, including the first and second language affiliation of all the local ethnic groups. Each text is introduced with comments on the social identity of the speakers and hearers. Speech events recorded include Anansi story telling, "Talkin' Rass" (a form of storytelling involving teasing and boasting, with a sexual content), and various discussions on topics of interest to the local people.

Each chapter contains a bibliography of linguistic and historical sources related to the subregions. Each chapter also contains a modern map of the area as well as a reproduction of a map from the colonial period. The book is reproduced from typewritten pages.

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(Received 7 July 1983)

RICHARD LAMBERT AND BARBARA FREED (eds.), *The loss of language skills*. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1982. Pp. viii + 253.

This volume represents the only collection to date devoted to the phenomenon of language loss. All of the papers were presented at the Conference on the Attrition of Language Skills at the University of Pennsylvania in 1980. This conference was an attempt to bring together existing research in the field and to suggest areas where future study might be most productive.

Participants in the conference view language loss from diverse perspectives, from psychometric to sociolinguistic to pedagogical. Some of the most interesting and ambitious papers in the collection attempt to incorporate language skills attrition into a broader framework of what John Clark refers to in his paper as "language change research," including acquisition, use, maintenance, and loss. The editors have divided the articles into three categories: views of language loss from sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic perspectives, specific issues of description and measurement, and implications for language and educational policies.

The bulk of the works in this volume are necessarily conjectural. In fact, only one, by Pardee Lowe, contains an empirical study. However, many intriguing and potentially testable hypotheses are proposed. Jean Berko-Gleason, in the first section, offers reversed language acquisition as a possible model for language loss. She explores the research on child language acquisition and aphasia and suggests that the subsystems and features most problematic to children in first language acquisition may prove the most vulnerable in language loss.

Most of the articles rest on one basic assumption, that nonuse of language skills leads to attrition. While this seems sensible, and has some possibly misguided precedent in the language acquisition literature (use leads to acquisition), rarely is this assumption stated explicitly, nor has it been tested. There is also some confusion, pointed out repeatedly in the book, between factors which may have been instrumental in acquisition, and those which are important to maintenance or whose absence leads to loss. Robert Gardner explores the role that psychological and social factors may have in individual and group language loss, much as Schumann has done for second language acquisition ("Social and psychological factors in second language acquisition." In J. Richards, ed., *Understanding second and foreign language acquisition*. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1978). Gardner proposes several hypotheses which rest on syllogisms involving acquisition, such as: since attitudinal/motivational factors are related to language acquisition, the same will be true of language loss. While he does not go so far as to claim causality, these "since–then" hypotheses are necessarily shaky since neither the premise nor the relationship between it and the consequence has been proven.

Nancy Dorian brings insights from her extensive work on East Sutherland Gaelic. She cites two important, often interrelated, group factors: pragmatism and cultural stance. For instance, there is very little economic utility in maintaining Gaelic, but its retention is an important mark of ethnic solidarity. Dorian also presents evidence from individual imperfect speakers, which points to the need for further research in the area. She has found great differences in language loss among what she calls "returned exiles," those who have come back to the community after a long period spent among monolingual English speakers. Speakers, who from the point of view of sociolinguistic and psychological integration "should" show good retention, but, in fact, do not; and those who "shouldn't" retain, but do, keep the question of predictor variable an open one.

Neurolinguistics had become a more active field of inquiry in second language acquisition. Lorraine Obler, in her paper, looks for generalizations which might be made about language loss in the existing work on aphasia and on aging among the healthy and dementing elderly. While she stresses that language attrition among the healthy cannot be assumed to parallel the above conditions, certain factors such as age and extent of acquisition and language use may be crucial in all of them. She suggests that language reacquisition therapies for aphasics may hold some insights for teaching and relearning strategies for the healthy.

In the most far-reaching paper, Roger Andersen tries to fit linguistic attrition into a broad framework of language variation and language use. He makes explicit certain assumptions, distinctions and prerequisites of future research in the field. He points to the potentially important differences between language loss in individuals and in speech communities, and to the need for two sets of baseline data, one for native speakers and one for the nonnative speakers in question before the attrition process began. Andersen sets forth a number of assumptions from which he derives several discrete, testable hypotheses. He essentially views language loss as a special case of variation in linguistic form and use. He traces the phenomenon to a "restriction in language use accompanied by a break with a previously established tradition" (87). This break cuts the speaker off from the input and interaction necessary for the maintenance of all phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, and other distinctions. Long has claimed that these are necessary factors in language acquisition ("Input, interaction, and second language acquisition." *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 379, 1981. 259–78). Andersen makes the jump to acquisition. He goes on to hypothesize about the nature of the reduction of the various linguistic subsystems. In another section (100ff.), he proposes a number of compensatory communication strategies which bear a strong resemblance to those of second language acquirers (cf. E. Tarone, "Communication strategies, foreigner talk, and repair in interlanguage." *Language Learning* 30:417–31). John Clark, in a separate paper, offers suggestions on how certain of Andersen's suggestions might be tested.

The remainder of the section on description and measurement points to the inadequacies of current testing instruments and suggests possible improvements.

The final portion of the book is devoted to policy implications. Albert Valdman notes the obvious place for language attrition research in the classroom and makes suggestions for syllabus design and materials development which may lead to better retention or more efficient reacquisition. The final papers review the impact of national language policy on ethnic minorities and what part language attrition research might play in shaping that policy.

Two extremely useful appendices conclude the volume, one a summary chart of all previous research findings in the field, and the other, an extensive bibliography on language attrition and related fields. The section of the bibliography containing published works specifically on second language loss number a paltry dozen, underscoring the need for research in this area. Berko-Gleason writes in her article's conclusion, "The field of language skill attrition research is not even in its infancy. It is antenatal" (22). The editors of this volume write that they hope it will integrate research efforts in the field. Perhaps they have not succeeded in integrating the numerous perspectives brought to the conference; they could hardly be expected to do so, given the diversity of neurology, syllabus design, and sociolinguistics. However, the present collection is a beginning for a field which has been ignored far too long. Its theoretical and practical implications should soon be recognized.

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P. AKUJUOOBI NWACHUKWU, *Towards an Igbo literary standard*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul International for the International African Institute with the Assistance of UNESCO and the Federal Government of Nigeria, 1983. Pp. viii + 88.

Igbo is the language of more than ten million people living mainly in the eastern states of Nigeria. For long little studied, the language is now on the upswing of linguistic and literary activities but still grappling with the establishment of a standard literary dialect. Dr. Nwachukwu's book, *Towards an Igbo literary standard* – written in pleasing, fluent style, in spite of a rather infelicitous cover title – makes a spirited case for an urgent establishment of a standard literary dialect and, more importantly, for the adoption of the so-called Central Igbo dialect as such a standard.

The book contains eighty-eight pages in five chapters titled respectively: "The Standardising of Igbo" (12 pp.), "Orthography" (20 pp.), "Grammatical Features of the Literary Standard" (31 pp.), "Language Modernisation" (2-1/2 pp.), "Propagation of the Standard" (7 pp.), and a three-page summary serving as the sixth. There are interesting arguments in sections of the book such as the illustrative case histories of language standardisation (7–13), word division (27–30), nominal classes (45–47), and a proposal for an Igbo language board (73). The book, however, was already due for a revision long before publication on account of both a conscious about-face on a previously held position and an unintentional contradiction. For example, the author's preface (written a year before publication) withdraws (vi) his polemic on substituting the 1961 Onwu orthography with the International African Alphabet devised by the International African Institute. He argues with passion for a revision of Igbo orthography so that every distinctive sound can be represented in such a way that words like *aku* "termite" and *aku* "wealth", differentiated in some dialects by aspiration, could be written differently not only in popular literature but also in specialized writing. He then proceeds in the same chapter to demonstrate with Igbo and English languages (35) in self-contradiction that orthographic inadequacy does not affect fluency in reading. As the author needlessly points out, the monograph (or what remains of it) constitutes his own "contribution to the on-going debate on the subject of standard Igbo." In such debates it might, perhaps, be more appropriate to take issue with him not on what he said but on what he failed to say. Dr. Nwachukwu admits that the adoption of "Central Igbo" as the standard literary dialect has not spread since the time it was recommended by Ida Ward more than forty years ago. He, however, disagrees "sharply" with Emenanjo (70) that this is proof of its unpopularity but blames the nonspread on lack of prestige for Igbo and the previous governments' indifference to the language. The real problem with the so-called Central Igbo which is being advocated as literary standard without adequate research information is that it is not *a dialect* but, as Dr. Nwachukwu himself puts it, "*dialects* of identifiable *groups* of speakers" (14). The idea of "Central Igbo" as a base-dialect for a standard literary dialect of the language therefore assumes a

homogeneity (6) which is not supported by field research. In my own recent investigations (Ubahakwe 1982), I have so far isolated twenty dialects of Igbo, seven of them *in only a portion* of the old Owerri Province, the "homeland" of "Central Igbo." All these dialects, except one, do not, for example, match their intelligibility ranking with their acceptability. One dialect that ranked eighth in intelligibility came in second in acceptability, while another that was tenth in acceptability turned up second in intelligibility. A different example from the grammatical features of "Central Igbo" may be taken from the book under review. For the progressive present suffix, three distinct dialect variations (*ghal ghe, na, ga*) were observed and reported (37–38), suggesting that perhaps "Central Igbo" as standard would permit a single verb like *ri* to be rendered in three different forms (*o* righa, *o* riga, *o na-eri*) for the same tense. The point here is that the "Central Igbo" as defined and projected for adoption as standard has weaknesses similar to those of Shona and Union Igbo, cited in the book as bad examples of how to create a standard literary dialect.

The book ends with an informative index, footnotes, and a lengthy, select bibliography, which in a way results in (as a pardonable ignorance) the tendency on the part of the author to be self-indulgent in his references. For example, the currency of *nari* (100) was credited to the author's 1972 *Conch* article rather than to the Society for Promoting Igbo Language and Culture, which developed in 1972 the popular Igbo metrics. As proof of the encouraging signs in Igbo studies, the reader's attention is drawn (71) to the *promise* of Dr. Nwachukwu's own new department of linguistics and Nigerian languages and those at the colleges of education without a mention of the contributions of the University of Ibadan that trained most of the teaching staff in Igbo linguistics in the institutions he quite rightly praised. He writes, citing mere mentions in his work (25, 27) about the "unfortunate instances where there has been anglicisation of the spellings of Igbo names" without a reference to the detailed studies on the subject (Ofomata 1974; Ubahakwe 1974) that predate both his Ph.D. thesis and the book under review.

The book is handy and beautifully produced. It may not have extended our knowledge as much as it did the basic arguments on controversial issues, but it has nonetheless brought together valuable information (some already in print, some still floating) on the ongoing debate on the how and what of a standard literary dialect of Igbo.

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Herman Rapaport, *Milton and the postmodern*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1983. Pp. xiv + 270.

This interesting book takes its start from Jacques Derrida and the approach known as "deconstruction." In Milton it finds a writer who was not simply the last great Renaissance apologist for humanism, but a writer who, as Macaulay had sensed, oscillated between an idealism and a materialism in a strategic wavering. (Here materialism has to do with poetry as decidably figural, concrete and iconic, not engaged in philosophical and theological idealism and abstraction.) Rapaport reads Milton's works as showing Milton to have shared a project still on the agenda of Marxism and poststructuralism, that of not transcending one idealism with another, but of "standing dialectically on a debatable ground that at once engages and disengages the metaphysical conceptual apparatuses that constitute Western philosophy (what Jacques Derrida terms the 'white mythology')" (5).

Rapaport uses as epigraph a passage from Derrida's *Glas* which speaks of *thanatopraxie*, the technics of the funeral rite, and adopts the notion in his first chapter, "Milton and the *Thanatopraxie* of Writing." The stance is one of dissolving systems and texts to preserve what remains [Hebrews 12.25–27 is cited (7)], while avoiding the construction of a new system (systems being seen always as tyrannical) in place of the old. One must not monumentalize, "the deconstructor is called upon to shift ground, mobilize an auto-critique, to engage in a *thanatopraxie* of writing" (8).

This makes for a very interesting Milton. In ending with an emphasis on images of wounding, cutting, castration, and blinding (236), Rapaport seems quite unaware of Kenneth Burke's discussion of Samson Agonistes in the first part of his *Rhetoric of Motives* (1950). His comments on "materialism" in poetry make one wish he had commented on William Carlos Williams, whose snippets of moral force ("So much depends . . .") have so much to do with the force of his concreteness.

Rapaport's opposition to binary oppositions, following Derrida, has great resonance in sociolinguistics, of course, where we still find it hard to transcend empirically such simplistic starting points as grammar/discourse, grammar/use, competence/performance, elaborated/restricted, formal/informal, standard/vernacular, direct/indirect, and the like. (Has no follower of Derrida noticed critiques of Chomskian competence/performance as privileging one category as against the other?) But some passages make one fear that the inherited "white mythology" of orality vs. literacy as a basic dichotomy still persists in the author's thinking (16–17), as if the material modality (voice, script) always determined the use made of it. In general, the preoccupation with orality/literacy as a simple dichotomy today is a concealed form of technological determinism which would not be tolerated in other spheres. Means condition uses and ends, not exclusively determine them, as we would recognize if it were a question of Whorf and grammatical categories, or Marx and mode of production. One should ask what interests are served by preserving a concealed technological determinism here? (In Kenneth Burke's terms, relations that belong to the sphere of symbolic *action* are treated in terms of the sphere of *motion*.) (DH)

August Schleicher, Ernst Haeckel, and Wilhelm Bleek, *Linguistics and evolutionary theory. Three essays*. (Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science: Series I: Amsterdam Classics in Linguistics, 1800–1925, vol. 6). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1983. Pp. xliv + 84; xxix + 78.

This edition includes "Linguistics and evolution theory: A select bibliography," (xxxiii–ix), facsimiles of original titles, an appendix by Whitney, "Dr. Bleek and the Simious theory of language," and an interesting page listing the three reprinted works in what may be the handwriting of Haeckel himself (viii), but whose presence appears to be unexplained. Maher's introduction to Schleicher updates his critique of the stereotype of Schleicher as a Darwinist. The point seems to be that Schleicher was an evolutionist before he read Darwin.

Maher's argument is hard to follow. He grants that Schleicher proclaimed himself a Darwinist after reading Darwin. Maher summarizes the mistaken standard historiographic commonplace as saying that Schleicher was first a Hegelian, then a Darwinist. While some may interpret that account as meaning that he became an evolutionist only when he became a Darwinist (which seems to be Maher's concern), no one who knew Hegel would think so. Perhaps Maher's point is that Schleicher remained a progressionist, à la Hegel, did not adopt Darwin's uniformitarianism, and did not understand or adopt the mechanism of explanation (variation and selection) that distinguished Darwin. If that is his point, it does not seem to bear the polemical weight he and others attach to it. First of all, Schleicher's strictly historical model of linguistic relationship, the family tree, is quite analogous to Darwin's use of the tree model, and Darwin seems to have recognized the precedence of linguistics in this regard. Second, it seems a mistake to define Darwinism as a phenomenon of intellectual history as a single thing. We seem to need to distinguish Darwinists of type A and type B. Type A equated Darwinism with the general idea of evolution. Type B recognized that Darwin postulated a specific mechanism of change with a uniformitarian conception of its workings throughout time. There have been plenty of both kinds of Darwinist, and it may be accurate to say that Schleicher was a bit of both. (If he was not uniformitarian throughout linguistic time, he was uniformitarian for part of that time.)

Third, the argument made by Maher is complicated by further considerations he does not treat here. Schleicher would appear to have been as poor a Hegelian as Darwinian since Hegel saw history

as progressive from start to finish. Schleicher saw a parabola, evolution producing a perfected stage from which history saw a fall (xxix). We seem really to need an entirely distinct and third term for the view shared by Schleicher, Rask, and others, as to the pattern of the typological development of languages *Parabolist* would do (cf. xxix). The proper class in which to put the Parabolist view is that of conceptions of the overall geometry of change. The class includes the progressionist view (Condorcet, Hegel, etc.) and the degenerationist view (de Maistre, etc.). All share the tenet that there has been qualitative transformation in the course of time, with an apex of value at some point in that course. One puts the apex at the start, one at the end, one (the Parabolist) in between.

The contrast between Darwin as uniformitarian and Schleicher as progressionist, drawn in this introduction, really contrasts a principle of method and a principle of the pattern within which the method operates or to which it gives rise. Those who saw Darwin's mechanism of variation and selection as having progressive implications were not duped.

The process may be uniform throughout time, but the outcomes are not. Some instances of differential survival and adaptation to environment may lead to new levels of complexity and adaptation overall.

Finally, this introduction omits writings of Schleicher on typological development which appear to conflict with the view, singled out here, of all linguistic history as a downturn from the original creative perfection of language itself. Schleicher saw complexity of inflection as a criterion of advancement *within* history. [See the reprint of his work, *Die Sprachen Europas* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1983), and another work in which, taking inflexion as criterion, and recognizing the simultaneous simplicity of Chinese and the relative advancement of its civilization, he divided languages into two classes, putting monosyllabic Chinese at the bottom rung of the higher class.]

One has to agree with Maher that to label Schleicher a "Darwinist" is grossly to oversimplify, and that his place in the history of ideas, linguistic and general, is far more complex. One can only wish that this introduction might have risen above the polemics surrounding the term "Darwinist," and have put forward a matrix of distinctions within which such polemics can be avoided. Our task would seem to be, not to put linguists into categories, but to put categories into categories, more adequate to what has actually happened. (DH)

OFELIA ZEPEDA (ed.), *Mat Hekid O Ju. 'O' odham Ha-Cegitodag/When it rains. Papago and Pima poetry.* (Sun Tracks, an American Indian Literary Series, vol. 7, Larry Evers, ed.). Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982. Pp. 82.

This admirable collection of poetry has the Indian texts on the left, English versions on the right. The contributors include Elaine Antone, Jeanette Chico, Ken Hale, Shirley Jay, Malinda Leon, Daniel Lopez, Nellie Miguel, Dora Miles, Virginia Montana, Cecelia Nuñez, Henrietta Pablo, Helen J. Ramon, Archie Ramon, Floretta Rhodes, Angelina Saraficio, Betty Jane Sheppard, Ofelia Zepeda. There is an afterword by Hale.

The Papago alphabet is presented (11–12), and three orthographic differences in Pima are shown at the end. Papago words are given to illustrate the sounds of the letters, but no phonetic explanation is given. Thus, the speaker/reader of another Indian language may not know what to make of c, ḍ, ṣ, or whether the Pima equivalents of the first and third (*ch, sh*), are different sounds or only different spellings.

Zepeda's account of the history of written Papago and Pima in the introduction (3–9) is of great interest. When Papago were first learning to read and write, the materials to read were the translated Bible, traditional stories transcribed by linguists, and scholarly papers on the language. Elementary school texts followed in the 1970s, texts which had little use outside school. Some legends, short biographical texts, and other material have gradually become available from the San Simon School on the Papago Reservation in recent years. The poems in this volume were written in the summer of 1980 at the Native American Language Institute in Albuquerque (concurrent with the Linguistic Institute that year). Each participant wrote original poetry. Dr. Akira Yamamoto introduced the *haiku*, which some students found an effective model, but many not. Then Helen Ramon, one of the teachers, provided a short poem written by one of her first grade students, Elizabeth Salcido, in 1974. It generated great enthusiasm, and, indeed, has a very attractive structure of parallelism and framing (7). As Zepeda explains the effect of the poems written that summer, the key seems like that found in Paolo Friere in his literacy work: The words are rich with meaning to those who write them.

The title of the introduction, Thoughts (which is also the second word in the subtitle of the book) was adopted in the absence of a separate word for 'poetry'. It begins with a passage from a ceremony for bringing rain. (DH)

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